

The Folio of 1855—A Plea for Women's Rights

Helen G. Chapin and David W. Forbes

Now, then, the hour has come when your name can be made immortal by becoming the defender, supporter, aye, creator of Women's Rights in Hawai'i!

American women and men in the Hawaiian Kingdom were thus urged in 1855 to declare their allegiance to women's emancipation. The anonymous exhorter then warned men of the consequences if they failed to share their rights:

When I think of the wrongs heaped upon us, I really wonder that volcanic fires are restricted to the lonely heights of *Mauna Loa*, for surely it is not unreasonable to expect that Nature will avenge the indignities inflicted on—Women.¹

These ringing words appeared in *The Folio* and were based on sentiments expressed by the feminist movement in the mid 19th Century in the United States, arising in particular from the Seneca Falls (New York) Women's Convention of July 19–20, 1848. *The Folio* (fig. 1) was the first women's newspaper in Hawai'i and probably was also the first in the Pacific region. More issues were promised, but none followed the original edition which was designed as a handout for a fair sponsored by the "Ladies of the Protestant Mission." The newspaper was subsequently reprinted and distributed to subscribers of the *Friend* in its next issue.² To our knowledge, only these reprints survive. Nor is *The Folio* recorded in any Union List of Serials or in any reference work these two authors have seen. As a result, it has been consistently overlooked. *The Folio* should be looked at today, however, for it provides a new glimpse into mid 19th Century Hawai'i and the society formed by American residents.

The existence of this little newspaper raises intriguing questions. How is it that a feminist newspaper could appear at all in 1855 in

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Honolulu? What was the climate of opinion on women's rights? Who wrote the paper's contents? How was the paper received by the public? Why was there only a single number? Our recent research or detective work has yielded some tentative answers which are presented here.

Feminism as a modern cause actually began in England in 1792, with Mary Wollstonecraft's *A Vindication of the Rights of Women*. Along with the causes of abolition and temperance, feminism entered America where both the establishment and alternative presses in the 19th Century provided platforms for reform movements and crusades.³

The popular or establishment press, like Horace Greeley's *New York Tribune*, advocated temperance, the abolition of slavery, and the right of women to an education and to property in their own names. This press continued, nevertheless, to assign a special domestic sphere to women from which they could exercise a superior moral influence on men. More radical or alternative journals like *The Revolution*, published by Susan B. Anthony and edited by Elizabeth Cady Stanton, launched "a siege of the citadels" of male power, with demands that men and women share domestic labor and the vote.⁴

The New England missionaries who came to the Islands from 1820 on carried with them a passion for reform—in their case, the Christian conversion of the Native Hawaiians and the Americanization of their culture. They also brought a newspaper print technology. Reform once begun is difficult to stop. Nor did the print technology recognize sexual boundaries—women and men easily work it. Not too long after the introduction of printing into Hawai'i by the New Englanders and their creation of newspapers in 1834, non missionary Americans brought out alternative and oppositionist papers, such as the *Sandwich Islands Gazette and Journal of Commerce* (1836–1839) and the *Honolulu Times* (1849–1850). Mrs. James Jarves, wife of the *Polynesian* editor, the official organ of the Government, ran that newspaper in the 1840s during her husband's absence.⁵

Although some missionary women themselves held conflicting views toward women's roles, they had all achieved education and independence at some sacrifice before they married. Marriage to male missionaries enabled them to fulfill ambitions to engage in Christian reform work.⁶ During the frequent absences of their husbands, the women carried on their own domestic duties as well as

their husband's mission work. Single women continued to teach all their lives.

Inevitably, many women brought with them from New England to Hawai'i the ideal of liberty. They did not easily yield their freedom to matrimonial or other bonds. The women were also brave role models for their children and others in the society. Denied being able to speak or vote in the general meeting of the Sandwich Islands Mission, the women after 1834 convened a separate meeting, a maternal association. They debated views, held discussions, and presented papers. Consider Mary Tenney Castle who her grandson described as "never orthodox." When she prayed aloud in mission prayer meetings, she acted against those, including her husband, who interpreted literally the command that women should keep silent in church. In later life she supported women's suffrage and set up trusts so her daughters could be independent of men.⁷ Consider, too, Clarissa Chapman Armstrong who, in 1847, in the absence of her husband but with his support, conducted religious worship. She later said she wished others would discuss the freedom that Christ gave women. Then, too, there was Lucy Goodale Thurston who shocked fellow missionaries by declaring "it was right for Christians to laugh and sport and jest . . . , be merry and have fun . . . [even] in their clerical meetings."⁸

Mission children, male and female, carried reform further. Many were sent back to New York and New England for educations. Thurston and Chamberlain daughters, for example, attended Mt. Holyoke Seminary in Massachusetts, known for its excellent education of young women. Less restricted in their public roles than their elders, the children formed the Hawaiian Mission Children's Society in 1852 to support a new mission in Micronesia. In this organization women and men had equal rights.

At mid century, the Seneca Falls manifesto of 1848 would have been known to those children of the mission who attended schools in New England and to Honolulu residents. Although the manifesto was not printed in Hawai'i papers, it did appear in Boston and New York newspapers which Hawai'i residents read several months later. As Varigny said in his *Fourteen Years in the Sandwich Islands*, newspaper readership was widespread, and people argued over a full range of social and political questions.⁹

FIG. 1. First page of *The Folio*. (HMCS photo.)

THE FOLIO.

"TRUE TO THE KINDRED POINTS OF HEAVEN AND HOME."

HONOLULU, NOVEMBER 16, 1855.

The Folio.

PUBLISHED AT THE

SAILORS' HOME,

NOVEMBER 16, 1855.



PROSPECTUS.

When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for a person or class of persons to sever the ties with which nature or society has bound them to a certain position or line of conduct, and assume duties which place them among the more public actors on life's broad stage, a decent respect for the opinions of mankind requires that they set forth the reasons which impel to such a step.

We hold it to be a self-evident fact, that man is possessed of certain inalienable rights, and in the beginning, we declare ourselves free and independent of any disposition to invade those rights. We are bound by no shackles of sect or party. As friends of humanity we enter the arena, where so many stronger, wiser, and better have preceded us—not to measure weapons with them—but to contribute, if need be, our mite of strength to stay the hands of those who have long been earnest in the conflict. We bear no shield or banner with strange device to indicate our purpose or limit our sphere of action. We ask no herald to announce to the crowd our coming. To our friends we will ourselves speak our name and purpose.

Not with tongue or sword, but pen, we hope to serve; and though to present our rights might awaken hostility, we hope our writings will be received in the spirit of amity and good-will.

"What's in a name?" has been asked by one of world-wide celebrity. We are not prepared to answer in the words of another, "there's magic in it," yet we believe there

is something. Our *nom de plume* is our *nom de guerre*. To select it from the many thought appropriate by others is not easy. Our flowers of wit and gems of thought, we fear, will be too few and far between to be twined in *The Wreath*, or gathered in *The Basket*.—Should we adopt "The Home Journal," it may be expected of us that we devote too large a space in our columns to domestic news. The "Cabinet" suggests an idea of the wonders of both sea and land, while we expect only to gather a few articles from our friends, exclusively of home manufacture, with such waifs and estrays as may be chance-directed to our hands. We adopted *The Folio* because it seems liable to no similar objection; for whatever may be the character of its contents, it is what none can gain-say or contradict, a folio of four pages. To our friends we say, what you'll have it, make it. And we entreat let none condemn or speak slightly of what it contains who have contributed nothing to enhance its value or increase its efficiency. Story, sketch, poem—each and all will be acceptable—each and all will be found on our pages, if our friends are true to themselves and the cause we advocate. If they are not, none can experience deeper regret and disappointment than ourselves.

Though we have screwed our courage to the sticking place and entered the lists, we confess to some misgivings. We fear there may be for us such a word as—Fail. The good we would do, we may not accomplish. The pleasure we would gladly offer may elude our grasp, as the fruit of the fabled bough of old did that of him whose doom it was ever to strive and never reach. But what we can not claim from your justice we will, in this case, gladly receive from your generosity. To that we confidently commend ourselves and our cause.

HONOLULU, Nov. 16, 1855.

CONSTITUTION OF HONOLULU SAILORS' HOME ADOPTED, AND TRUSTEES CHOSEN, Nov. 20, 1854.—"The Trustees chosen to manage the affairs of the institution, are a pledge to the public that integrity and fidelity will characterize the financial operations of the concern." *The Friend*.

INVOCATION.

Bear me on thy heaving bosom,
Ever bright and changing sea,
Bear me with thy gentlest motion,
O'er thy billows fearless, free.
Where thy glad waves flashing leap,
Where the loud voiced winds do blow,
And answering echoes long and deep,
Tell of haunted halls below;
Where the morning's rosy ray
Turns thy foam-wreaths into gold;
Where the silver wavelets play
Nightly with the moonbeams cold;
Where the clouds that never weep
Roll through their vast cerulean home;
Where sunny isles in beauty sleep,
And Beauty's dark-eyed maidens roam;
Where the wild bird sweetly sings
On the golden orange bough;
Where the breeze at evening brings
Fairy whispers soft and low;
Where the Sun with gorgeous dyes
Paints the shores, and waves, and sky;
Where the flashing fountains rise,
Breathing Nature's minstrelsy,—
There, oh take me on thy bosom,
Ever wild and heaving sea;
There, oh take me restless ocean,
Where summer reigns eternally!
HONOLULU.

CENTO VERSES.

To form cento verses, each line must be taken from a different author, or different poems of the same author, as,
Tell me not in mournful numbers,—*Long fellow.*
All our life is mixed with death;—*Barrett.*
Wake the better soul that slumbers,—*Anon.*
There is higher life than breath.

It is not necessary at all times to preserve consistency in the picture, as the following:
Turn, gentle hermit of the vale,—*Goldsmith.*
Equipped from top to toe,—*Cowper.*
To walk you studious cloisters pale,—*Milton.*
Where knelt the vanquished foe,—*Holmes.*

Those who think it easy to form cento verses, may find a fourth line for the following:
When Music, heavenly maid! was young,
And little to be trusted,
Ere yet the creature found a tongue—

Those for whom Time does not unroll the web of fate with sufficient rapidity, may have it done to order by our

FATE-LADY.

Nov. 16, 1855.

National CIRCUS!

PROPRIETORS, - LEE & MARSHALL

Benefit of SAILOR'S HOME!

WEDNESDAY EVEN'G

NOVEMBER 21, 1855.

Conductor of the Circle,
MR. H. C. LEE.

Shakespearean Jew,
MR. AUSTIN.

Ring Master,
MR. BREWER.

Trick Clown,
MR. COONA.



By particular request, the much admired Grand Entry entitled the **FOUR QUARTERS OF THE GLOBE!**

Representing the COSTUMES of EUROPE, AFRICA, ASIA and AMERICA,
in the by-gone days, with Music, Banners and Dresses appropriate.
LED BY MADAME AUSTIN & MR. H. C. LEE.

MASTER EUGENE LEE,

The Wizard Horseman!

Will appear in his unrivalled SOMERSET ACT ON HORSEBACK.

PROF. BREWER will appear as ROMO SOLO, the

East Indian Juggler!

Mr. GEO. PEOPLES will appear in his much admired act as the
NORTH AMERICAN INDIAN.

MADAME AUSTIN

Has kindly volunteered to sing one of HER MUCH ADMIRER SONGS

Ground and Lofty Tumbling!

—ALSO—

ACROBATIC FEATS,

BY THE WHOLE STRENGTH OF THE COMPANY.

Mademoiselle JEANNETTE M. ANNEREAU will appear as
DIANA, THE GODDESS OF THE CHASE.

MADAME AUSTIN,

The First Tight Rope Artist of the day!

Will appear on the CORDE TENDUE and go through a variety of pleasing feats.

Masters EUGENE & FRANCIS LEE will appear on the

POLLANDRIC LADDERS,

Surrounded by a Brilliant Display of FIREWORKS!

MR. GEO. PEOPLES.

The celebrated Four Horse Rider, will appear as the Russian Dispatch Bearer, on his
four fiery Chargers, with Dispatches from

SEBASTOPOL!

The Performance will conclude with

Jack the Giant Killer!

PRICES OF ADMISSION.

DRESS CIRCLE, \$1.50
PARQUETTE, 1.00
BOX, 50

The Hawaiian Kingdom by mid century was inexorably coming under the domination of American interests and ideals. Political, economic, social, and cultural changes were occurring at all levels. For American women and men residents change was the given and ambiguity the norm. Most accepted a belief system which incorporated the "cult of true womanhood" (see Patricia Grimshaw's essay elsewhere in the pages of this *Journal*). Respect for women in their domestic role was the primary premise upon which women and men functioned. Yet the premise was being undermined and the belief system ripe for an attack and for the appearance of a feminist doctrine. While there is little evidence that ethnocentric American women identified at all with Hawaiian women's loss of hereditary rights,¹⁰ the right of women to hold property in their own names even prior to widowhood was being discussed, as we will shortly see in *The Folio*. In another crucial area, the Hawaiian Kingdom was actually ahead of the U.S. Republic—in public education for boys and girls, Native Hawaiians and Caucasians.

We can identify five men, four Americans and an Englishman, who must have known about *The Folio* in advance of its appearance, and have tentatively identified one woman, although we can surmise that two others, both Americans, exercised some influence on it.

Of the Americans, Henry Whitney, W. L. Lee, Elisha H. Allen, and Samuel Damon were all trustees of the Sailors' Home in 1855. Henry Whitney in the 1850s was by no means the conservative, narrow-minded newspaper man who in the 1880s and 1890s came to rail against the hula and to favor U.S. annexation. Whitney learned printing and the newspaper business in New York in the 1840s where he acquired liberal ideas like the belief in freedom of speech. Henry also married and brought home in 1849 the spirited and independent-minded Catherine March of Portsmouth, New Hampshire. As the Postmaster for the Kingdom (appointed in 1850) and as a young husband and father, Whitney was an ardent, outspoken Christian reformer. After founding the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* (in 1856), he campaigned against the contract labor system and for an independent Hawai'i. He even approved the establishment of an Episcopal Church.

W. L. Lee was a judge and Chief Justice for the Kingdom. He drafted the Organic Acts (1847–1849) which helped to establish an

FIG. 2. Broadside advertising the Sailors' Home Fair, 1855. (Damon Papers, HMCS photo.)

American-style legal system in Hawai'i. Lee married Catherine Newton from Albany, New York, on shipboard in Honolulu harbor in 1849. Mrs. Lee was a clever, literary woman noted in Honolulu circles for her advanced thinking.

Elisha H. Allen, President of the Trustees of the Sailors' Home, was U.S. Consul and afterwards Hawaiian Minister of Finance.

Rev. Samuel C. Damon was the influential editor of the *Friend*, the newspaper in mid century years that seriously and continuously advocated many reform movements. An establishment newspaper, it generally represented the views of the Protestant Mission, but at times it went further. Editor Damon had an independent mind and independent financial means—he served as chaplain of the Seamen's Home and was paid by the American Seamen's Friend Society of New York. Damon's wife, Julia Mills of Connecticut and a missionary descendent, was the first President of the Stranger's Friend Society when it was formed in Hawai'i.

Among these Americans, all were personal friends. Damon performed the Lee's marriage ceremony.¹¹ The Damons, Whitneys, and Lees lived within a block of each other in the Fort and Bethel Streets neighborhood.

The Englishman involved with *The Folio* was Charles Gordon Hopkins, a naturalized citizen of the Kingdom, who brought with him from England "definite literary urges and a youthful hope of serving humanity."¹² The urbane, socially conscious director and editor of the Government sponsored *Polynesian* advocated many health and education reforms. The *Polynesian* printed the *Friend* in its printshop in 1855.

Damon used the pages of the *Friend* to advocate his favorite causes: those of education for all women, temperance, and abolition. Damon was the most eloquent spokesman, too, for those who believed simultaneously in the "cult of true womanhood," believing that superior women would make superior wives and advisors to their husbands and mothers to their children.

Women as superior creatures appeared in the pages of the *Friend* in such pieces as "Influence of Women," a testimonial by a U.S. Senator to his wife:

She took me when I was a victim of slavish appetites; she has redeemed and regenerated me, and I will not do that in her absence which I know would give her pain if she were present.

Damon editorialized:

No one of our readers will . . . feel hit by the above remarks unless he has already felt conscience smitten.¹³

The editor favored poems like "The Sailor's Mother." This was a tribute to the "strong-minded" and "pure and gentle-hearted" woman whose influence on her mariner son was such that he acted as an exemplary, clean-living Christian wherever he was. The strong, capable woman was yet another favorite Damon theme. "A Heroic Woman," excerpted from *The Boston Transcript*, described a brave sea captain's wife. When her husband and his chief mate fell ill, and the second mate was incompetent to navigate the clipper ship:

The Captain's wife, who happened providentially to be on board, and who had been taught navigation by her husband, took charge of the ship and brought it safely into port.¹⁴

Now to look specifically at *The Folio*. In 1854-1855, a primary aim of Damon and his associates was to complete a new building for the Sailors' Home. A Committee of Ladies was organized to sponsor fairs in order to raise money for this purpose. Unfortunately, we do not know the names of these women. But there are references to them. The *New Era and Weekly Argus*, reported that they raised \$1,200 for the 1854 fair. Its editor was Abraham Fornander, a Swedish immigrant with liberal political sentiments. Few could surpass him, however, for flowery phrases extolling the cult of true womanhood: the "Committee of Ladies of the Mission" were to be praised for the refreshment table which demonstrated "that housewifery is not at a discount here. . . . God bless them! for their brightest jewel is their charity!"¹⁵

Publicity for the 1855 fair heated up several months in advance of the event. Again, the sponsoring ladies were anonymous. In advanced publicity notices in the *Polynesian*, Elisha H. Allen asked that ladies interested in the fair's preparation "to meet at the Seamen's Bethel for important meetings."¹⁶ Whitney, as Postmaster, took an active role in the publicity, too. Notes in the *Friend* involving Whitney were aimed at intriguing and mystifying the public:

Poets, poetesses and prose-writers are invited to prepare epistolary communications for the post office department of the Sailor's Fair. Communications may be forwarded through the Post Office addressed to 'The Sailor's Fair.'¹⁷

Plans for a women's paper were well underway.

Whitney took out ads in October and November issues of the *Polynesian*, inviting contributions to the fair from residents and

captains of vessels and sailors. He promised that donors would be recognized on a printed list at the fair. Interestingly, Whitney also advertised his bookstore's wares, which included such *avant garde* items as Nathaniel Hawthorne's *The Scarlet Letter* and *The Blithedale Romance*.¹⁸ The former is a sympathetic tale of a woman's adultery in 17th Century America; the latter is a fictionalized account of the Brook Farm Community, a utopian socialist endeavor in Massachusetts in which women and men held equal rights and shared the labor.

The *Friend's* editor may have written this notice for the November edition, but perhaps Mrs. Whitney did—her correspondence with the Damons reveals a more lively, playful writing style than that possessed by Damon:

A new newspaper will make its appearance [at the fair]. Its name, its politics or its principles, are not as yet made known. It may not be Royal, but it is certain to be Loyal, for it will be printed at the Government Press!

Readers were then urged to come, hear, taste, read, and buy the many items to be for sale.¹⁹

The Folio itself, as promised, appeared at the fair on Friday, November 16. The fair received a rave review—written in advance of the actual event. Hopkins, in the weekly *Polynesian*, prepared the review for publication on Saturday but had to go to press by late Thursday. No doubt in order to boost attendance, he lavishly praised the wax work, exhibitions, stalls, and the "beautiful band" which appeared courtesy of the proprietor of the National Circus (fig. 2). But, curiously, Hopkins did not mention *The Folio* which had been typeset in his own shop.

No copies that we know of survive of the alternative paper. Fortunately, Damon provided for the circulation of a reprint through the *Friend*. The chief audience for the *Friend* was sailors aboard whaling and other vessels. The *Friend* was also mailed out to subscribers in the U.S. In addition, Whitney provided customers at the Post Office with the paper, and it was distributed on the day of the Fair itself.

In the printing practice of the period, Hopkins would have set aside the type and forms, and Damon was thus assured of four pages of material for his next eight-page paper. Damon wrote in the December *Friend*:

The Folio. Some of our readers may be surprised to find four pages of our paper filled up with 'The Folio.' A word of explanation will be sufficient. At the late Sailor's Fair, this paper was issued by the Ladies, and sold by the news-boys and girls, and furnished to such persons as called (at) . . . the Post Office. Believing that this paper deserves something

more than an ephemeral existence, we have transferred its entire contents to our columns. It formed an interesting feature of a 'Fair,' which will be long remembered by those instrumental in getting it up, and by the dense throng of visitors. . . . In the name of all the Sailors in the Pacific we thank you Ladies, for your exertions on behalf of the Sailor's Home.²⁰

Who wrote the paper, and what did it say? We can never know authorship for certain, but we can make some guesses. The entire contents except for reprints from other journals are anonymous or pseudonymous. As to content, the paper is a blend of older, more conventional sentiments of women's natural superiority with more radical and newer ideas—in other words, double messages by which women and men intellectually and emotionally encompass ambiguities. Nevertheless, the total effect is one of a vigorous feminism.

The title itself is neutral and, with the size of the paper, was probably so designed to be easily picked up by visitors to the fair. Printed below the "flag" or title is the slogan, well within the tenets of conventional wisdom: "True to the Kindred Points of Heaven and Home." A "Prospectus," the usual method by which a new periodical announces its editorial position and its future, next expressed itself in militant terms based on the Declaration of Independence of the Seneca Falls women's rights statement. The Hawai'i manifesto (see fig. 1), after its strong opening, became somewhat modified. The women declared that "not with tongue or sword, but pen" would they claim their rights. They fervently hoped hostility would not greet their efforts and commended themselves to their readers' generosity and good will.²¹

This mix of militancy and mildness was further moderated by humor. On each page appeared short notices or items like "Fate Lady"—a designation for the fortune teller who likely had a booth or table at the fair and a concept considered *avant garde* in Honolulu in 1855. One notice contained the initials of contributors. These initials, however, cannot be matched up with names from the period and so were probably a humorous imitation of the style of the age and not intended for disguise. There was a further playful reference to "Dr. [Robert Crichton] Wyllie" as Hawaiian Minister of Foreign Affairs—in 1855, Elisha Allen, Judge and Mrs. Lee, and Wyllie were all intimately involved in promoting a sugar reciprocity treaty with the United States. For the puzzle fans there were three "enigmas." These were clever word games for which Damon provided the solutions in the December *Friend*.

Damon was most likely accountable for those items featuring wandering sailors. One was a poem about the cold, silent ocean

taking to its bosom a young mariner. A letter from a sailor son to his New England mother begged her not to worry because she had raised him well, and although far away from her, he remained safe from the snares and temptations of a seaport. Another mariner item, "The Fairies' Gift," could have been placed by another, however, because its theme was not Christian. This was a parable of a sailor whose physical and moral well being were watched over by benevolent spirits.

Henry or Catherine Whitney, or both, or perhaps a third party, could have written the next piece which reflected the mission view of its Christian purpose in Hawai'i and reveals the ethnocentric biases of even the most liberal New Englanders. The author graphically described two scenes. The earlier, pre-Christian scene, shows uncivilized "pagans" practicing human sacrifice at an "idolatrous Heiau." A "moral night" covers the whole. This lurid picture is then contrasted with present day Hawai'i—a happy scene with schools, books, farms under cultivation, markets, ships safely at anchor, and the King taking his place among the monarchs of many nations. A "moral day" and Christianity cover this landscape.

The strongest, least moderated article appeared on page 3. This was by "Catherine Clatterton, L.L.D." The letter opens:

Dear Editress

I desire to bespeak one little corner of your paper for the purpose of advocating the great cause of poor oppressed woman-hood. . . .

What follows is a call to arms. The hour has come for immortality for the women of Hawai'i. They are to emulate the leadership of women like Queen Elizabeth and Queen Victoria. The writer waxes eloquent and applies vivid metaphors to women's condition. They are being deprived of the rights to property, like "an imprisoned bird" which cannot "soar into the blue." Adding a nice Hawaiian touch, the author warns men about the volcanic fires of Mauna Loa avenging women. Our feminist concludes with the exhortation that all should make the 19th Century the "era of Women's Emancipation" and signs herself "Yours hopefully."

The "Doctor of Laws" designation points, perhaps, to unrealized ambitions. The pseudonymous signature was not necessarily a bid for anonymity. Without certain identification, we can still guess at authorship—and all signs indicate "Catherine Clatterton" Whitney. With her husband in charge of the Post Office, she had easy access. All contributions were to be sent through Whitney. Catherine, too,

possessed a graceful writing style, wit, and political ideas revealed in her private correspondence. Her charities included the Seamen's Benevolent Association.²² While she never directly mentioned *The Folio* or the events of 1855 in the letters we have seen by her, she wrote long, cheerful, affectionate, humorous letters to her dear friends Rev. and Mrs. Damon, when the Damons travelled abroad in 1869-1870. These reveal a lively mind interested in many subjects. She reported at one point giving her husband instructions on how to vote on issues at Punahou School where he was a trustee. While she was "leaving my sphere," she said ironically, she was performing a "kindness" in that women "may do better than men in voting for the right person."²³

Could Julia Damon have assisted Catherine Whitney? This is possible, for there seems to have been a sympathy of minds among the two couples. Mrs. Lee would have been another candidate, but she was absent from Hawai'i for several months in 1855-1856.²⁴ Catherine Whitney is our choice.

Did *The Folio* draw a hostile reaction? Damon had said earlier that editing was like taking an ocean journey on rough seas, one's readers sometimes coming down on an editor like "a white squall."²⁵ Damon only alludes in his December *Friend* to *The Folio* as being an "interesting feature" of the fair. With his forthright personality, had there been hostility, he might have replied directly to it. No correspondence to Damon contains any such criticism; no newspaper follow ups allude to the literary effusions of ladies. Nor did the *Friend's* circulation seem to suffer. A letter, for example, from Titus Coan of the Hilo Mission, sent in February of 1856, renewed subscriptions for his parish, and circulation remained constant at about 1,000 copies per issue.²⁶

In any event, the promised second edition never materialized. One might assume the original creators were in some way discouraged, but on the other hand, the fair's goal, the Home's completion, was achieved.

The Folio was a landmark which stands alone. Another 25 years passed before another women's newspaper appeared. *The Spirit of the Fair*, in 1880, was sponsored by the Damon's daughter-in-law, Mrs. S. M. Damon, for the occasion of the Honolulu Library and Reading Room. It, too, is a single issue. But with no ringing pronouncements on women's rights, it is both more conventional and less interesting than its forerunner.

The need for an alternative voice for women even within an

establishment organization is still operating, however—for example, *Women Power*, a newspaper issued by the Honolulu Y.W.C.A. in the 1970s, and *All She Wrote*, currently issued by the University Y.W.C.A.²⁷

NOTES

- ¹ *The Folio*, 16 November 1855, HMCS Library.
- ² *F*, 1 December 1855, HMCS Library.
- ³ See Helen G. Chapin, "Newspapers of Hawai'i 1834 to 1903: From *He Liona* to the Pacific Cable," *HJH* 18 (1984): 47–86.
- ⁴ Lauren Kessler, *The Dissident Press: Alternative Journalism in American History* (Beverly Hills, CA.: Sage Hill, 1984), for a discussion of the alternative press.
- ⁵ Francis Steegmuller, *The Two Lives of James Jackson Jarves* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale UP, 1951) 54. Colonial American women in the 18th Century were printers and publishers. With the rise of journalism as a trade, women like Margaret Fuller, the Massachusetts feminist activist, wrote professionally for 19th Century newspapers.
- ⁶ Patricia Grimshaw "Christian Woman, Pious Wife, Faithful Mother, Devoted Missionary; Conflicts in Roles of American Missionary Women in Nineteenth-Century Hawaii," *Feminist Studies*, 9.3 (Fall 1983): 389–521.
- ⁷ William R. Castle, Jr., *Life of Samuel Northrop Castle* (Honolulu: Samuel N. and Mary Castle Foundation, 1960) 290. These trusts were eventually combined by male Castle heirs.
- ⁸ Clarissa Armstrong to Lucia Lyons, Mission Letters, 8 July 1880, HMCSL; *Letters from the life of Abner and Lucy Wilcox 1836–1869*, ed. Ethel M. Damon (Honolulu: privately printed, 1950) 297. Lucy Thurston chose to undergo an operation in 1855, without anesthetics (doctors decided not to use them because she previously suffered an attack of paralysis), for the removal of a cancerous breast—a bloody, gruesome 90-minute ordeal which she survived by 20 vigorous years: see Mrs. Lucy (Goodale) Thurston, *Life and Times of Mrs. Lucy G. Thurston, Pioneer Missionary to the Sandwich Islands* (Ann Arbor: S. C. Andrews, 1882; rpt. Honolulu, 1921).
- ⁹ Charles De Varigny, *Fourteen Years in the Sandwich Islands 1855–1868*, trans. Alfons L. Korn (Honolulu: UP of Hawaii, 1968) 153 and 137. Hopkins was editor of the *Polynesian* briefly in 1848 and again from 1855 to 1860.
- ¹⁰ Judith R. Gething, "Christianity and Coverture: Impact on the Legal Status of Women in Hawaii 1820–1920," *HJH*, 11 (1977): 188–220.
- ¹¹ *F*, March 1849; *PCA*, 18 September 1895. After Lee's death, Catherine remarried and lived in New York City where she sponsored the *Popular Science Monthly*. She continued to hold substantial interests in the Lihue Sugar Plantation, Kaua'i, and to actively promote sugar reciprocity through influential friends in New York and Washington, D.C.
- ¹² Alfons L. Korn, *The Victorian Visitors: An Account of the Hawaiian Kingdom, 1861–1866* (Honolulu: U of Hawaii P, 1958) 207–208.
- ¹³ *F*, November 1854.
- ¹⁴ *F*, April 1857.
- ¹⁵ *New Era and Weekly Argus*, 23 November 1854.
- ¹⁶ *P*, 13 October 1855.
- ¹⁷ *F*, 25 October 1855.
- ¹⁸ *P*, 3 and 10 November 1855.

- ¹⁹ *F*, November 1855.
- ²⁰ *F*, 1 December 1855.
- ²¹ *The Folio*, 16 November 1866. Further references in the text are to the reprint of this edition, 1 December 1855.
- ²² 44th HMCS Annual Report 1896, 20, HMCSL.
- ²³ S. C. Damon Papers, 1869, HMCSL.
- ²⁴ Ships Passenger Lists, AH.
- ²⁵ S. C. Damon Papers, 1856, HMCSL; *F*, November 1859.
- ²⁶ S. M. Damon Papers, HA.
- ²⁷ A survey of recent feminist publications in Hawai'i is by Karen Peacock, "In Feminist Newsletters and Publications," *The Changing Lives of Hawaii's Women*, ed. Ruth Lieban (Honolulu: Foundation for Women's History, 1984).